## S LAVERY:

## ESSAY in VERSE.

B I

CAPTAIN MARJORIBANKS, OF A LATE INDEPENDENT COMPANY; Formerly Lieutentant in His Majefy's Igth Regiment of Foot

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HUMBLY INSCRIBED TO
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## PLANTERS, MERCHANTS,

And others concerned in the Management or Sale of

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N E G R O \quad S L A V E S
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E D I N B U R G H:
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## $L E T \mathcal{T} E R$,

## SENT WITH THE

## FOLLOWING ESSAY,

## FROM THE

## $A U T H O R$ to $M r$. HALIBURTON,

BECRETARY OF THE EDINBURGH SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE ABOLITION
OFTHE AFRICANSLAVE TRADE.

SIR,
$\mathrm{T}_{\text {He inclofed Poem (if, unembellifhed by }}$ fancy or fiction, a plain unvarnifhed narration of mere melancholy matter of fact can be fo called), coincides fo exactly, in many particulars, with the evidence comprifed in the Abftract lately publifhed by your Society; that, had it been the production of a ftranger, and the two, fucceffively fhewn to me, I fhould, without hefitation, have pronounced the one to be little more than a verfification of a great part of the other. I affure you, however, upon my honour, that thefe verfes were written in Jamaica, in October 1786 ; a period, I imagine, when no fociety of the kind was in contemplation ; and when I was far from numbering any fuch inftitution among the probable events of the eighteenth century. I have not now made the addition of a fingle couplet to my original manufcript; from which alfo great part of the Notes are tranfcribed.

## ( 4 )

It may be afked why has this Effay beerl fo long concealed; or to what purpofe is it now produced? I can only anfwer; That my opinion of the Slave-Trade, and my compaffion for the fufferings of the Negroes in the Weft-Indies, of which I was for feveral years ań indignant eye witnefs, have been long and invariably the fame; which in private converfation, even in Jamaica, I have ever avowed. Indifpenfible avocations, however, put it out of my power at the proper period, and in a regular way, to ftep forward as a voluntary witnefs in the caufe of truth. Nor, while I faw with exultation the brighteft talents, and moft ditinguifhed characters in the kingdom, ranged on the fide of juftice and humanity; did 1 prefume to think of obtruding upon the public, in any other mode, the fentiments of fo obfcure an individual as myfelf.

It was within thefe few days only, on perufing the Abfract, and comparing the great mafs of evidence wiih what had fallen under my own knowledge, that my confcience, though the omiffion was involuntary; in fome meafure reproached me for having neglect-. ed to contribute my humble mite towards the raifs ing of this mighty ftructure.

It occurred to me, that by flating to you in writing a few facts and obfervations, I might perhaps il. luftrate or corroborate fome part of the evidence. The only kind of memorandum I had kept in Jamaica, either of incidents or reflections arifing from
them, confifted of a number of little poetical piecez inferted in a fort of common place-book. As Slavery was naturally the fubject of feveral of them; to this fource, on the prefent occafion, in order to refrefh my memory I recurred.

On a re-perufal of the compofition in queftion, fo long neglected, and almoft forgotten; fruck with the remarkable coincidence I have mentioned, I firft conceived that thefe artlefs effurions, meant only at the time to give vent to the painful feelings of my heart, excited by the diftrefsful fcenes which furrounded me; written at the moment that the impreffion was frefh upon my mind, would not only have more weight than any thing I could now compofe upon the fubject; but might perhaps even carry with them ftronger conviction than evidence drawn forth on diftant recollection, through the force of interrogation.
Abftract reaioning, however juft, or ingenious, could , probably conduce but little to promote a caufe, which hinges entirely upon facts. This little production, whatever may be its other imperfections, is not the offspring of hypothefis, the dream of theory, but the fimple recital of what fell under the cognizance of my own fenfes; and may be confidered as an additional link in the chain of evidence. The taftes of mankind, too, are various: though undoubtedly the greater, and perhaps the more intelligent part of the world, would prefer good fenfe and plain profe ;
profe; yet there may be no inconfiderable number of others, of a more romantic turn, who could not eafily be prevailed upon to perufe a pamphlet, but would feize with avidity on any thing in the form of a poem.

Thefe ideas induce me (confcious as I am of its total deficiency in point of poetical merit) to take the libery of requefting you, Sir, to lay this Effay before your Committee; to inform them that, if they confider it capable, in any fhape, of promoting the caufe they have with fo much ardour and benevolence embraced, that it is entirely at their difpofal ; and to affure them, that it would give me infinite pleafure to indulge the flighteft hope, that fo feeble a performance could, in the fmalleft degree, co-operate towards the attainment of objects fo defirable to every feeling heart and unbiaffed mind.

That the generous exertions of yours, and the other Philanthropic Societies, inflituted for the fame praife-worthy purpofes, may be ultimately and fpeedily crowned with the fuccefs they fo richly merit, is the fincere wifh of,

> Sir,

Your, and their,
Moft obedient, and very humble fervant,
Edin. Feb. 14, 1792.
J. MARJORIBANKS.

## S L A V E R Y:

## A N

## ESSAY in VERSE.

Britannia's heroes for fair Freedom fought, And gain'd, at length, the prize they nobly fought. On our brave anceftors did Freedom fmile, And fix'd her empire in their happy ifle. There fill fhe flourifhes in all her charms, Each heart enlivens, and each bofom warms.

Ungrateful men! to whom fuch boons fhe gave!
Who dare whole nations of mankind enflave !
From the rich ports, where fhe triumphant reigns, Forth fly the fleets that carry freights of chains !
From peaceful counting-houfes edicts pour,
Afric's wide realms rapacioully to fcour.
By Freedom's fons o'er diftant oceans borne, Are helplefs wretches from their country torn!
In noifome cells, where fell Diftemper glows, A favour'd part Death frees from future woes !
Or happy they, who in the friendly deep.
Fly from their tyrants to eternal fleep !

## ( 8 )

What horrid fears muft haunt th' untutor'd mind (Too ju/f, alas!) of torments yet behind !
On fhocking feafts muft favage fancy brood , Where pale Europeans prey on human food!
His bloody limbs, yet quiv'ring on the board,
Glut the keen ftomach of his ruthlefs lord :
Or on the flhine of vengeful gods he lies; And, in atonement for a Chriitian, dies!
Yes! every flave muft yield a mafter food,
Who flowly fattens on his vital blood!
Bleft, if at once his cruel tortures ceas'd,
And gave white cannibals a fhort liv'd feaf!
Yes! Afric's fons muft fain the bloody fhrine!
But all thofe victims, Avarice, are thine!
On Mercy's God thofe tyrants dare to call;
But Av'rice only is their lord of all!
To him their rites inceffantly they pay;
And wafte for him the Negro's life away!
" But hear !" fay you. Philofophy will hear ;
Whoever argues, he will lend an ear.
"On their own fhore thofe wretches Slaves we found $\dagger$ 。
"And only moved them to a fairer ground.
Captives

* The general idea of the new Negroes feems to be, that they are to be devoured.
$\dagger$ This, and every other argument I have put into their mouths, I have frequently heard the planters ufe. Futile as they are, If believe no better can be found.
${ }^{8}$ Captives in war they met this wayward fate;
"Or Birth had doom'd them to a fervile ftate.
"Oft they are convicts, fentenc'd for their crimes
${ }^{*}$ To endlefs exile from their native climes.
"With plants they knew not on thofe fterile lands,
"Here are they nourifh'd by our friendly hands;
"Of our own properties we give them fhare,
"And food or raiment never coft them care.
"On them no debts, no difficulties prey,
"Not Britain's peafants half fo bleft as they!"
Hold, impious men ! the odious theme forbear !
Nor with fuch treafon wound a Briton's ear!
The Britifh peafant! healthy, bold, and free!
Nor wealth, nor grandeur, half fo bleft as he:
The ftate of life, for bappinefs the firft ${ }^{\text {* }}$,
Dare you compare with this the mof accurs'd You found them flaves-but who that title gave!
The God of Nature never form'd a flave!
Tho' Fraud, or Force acquire a mafter's name, Nature and Juftice muft remain the fame !
He who from thieves their booty, confcious, buys,
May ufe an'argument as found and wife:
That he conceives no guilt attends his trade ${ }_{2}$
Becaufe the booty is already made.

[^0]For your own honour, name not Afric's wars !
Ye, whofe curs'd commerce rais'd thofe civil jars !
Each petty chief, whofe tribes were drain'd for you, For your vile traijic roams in queft of new; For you in guiltlefs blood imbrues his hands, And carries havoc o'er his neighbour's lands !
They whom the feebler rage of war may fpare,
A harder fate from you and Slavery fhare !
For you-fole inflizators to the werons *,
The brutal victor hurries them along.
From Afric's far interior regions driven,
To you-and Anguifh are thofe wretches given?
Nor yet are you, for any rigbteous caufe,
The executioners of Afric's lazes;
Th' atrocious criminals I oft have view'd,
European Juftice has fo far purfu'd ;
Emblems of Innocence they met my eyes,
In foft fimplicity and young furprife $\dagger$ !
But I , alas ! may fpare my idle ftrains, Which ne'er can wreft them from European chains!
For Int'reft fpeaks in language far too ftrong,
Either to heed a fermon, or a fong !
For

[^1]
## (iI)

Yet happy I, and not in vain I write,
If I could render but their chains more light;
Could I but wipe one tear from Slavery's eye,
Or fave his heart one agonifing figh!
Grant then your plea :-" Necefinity demands
*The toil of foreign Raves' unwilling hands."
Yet no neceffity could e'er excufe,
The more thian favage cruelty you ufe *!
"Thofe creatures are fo obftinate," you fay,
"That but from punifhment they will obey;
"No kindnefs foothes; no gratitude they know"-
Ah! little gratitude, indeed, they owe !
Ere you this virtue to their race denied,
Th' effects of kindnefs might have well been tried!
Come, now, reflect what tender modes you take
To make thofe beings labour-for your fake!
Firf, then, you are fo generous and good.
To give them time to rear a little food;
On the fame felfifh principle, of courfe,
You feed (far better though) your mule or horfe.
Small is the portion, poor the granted foil,
Till'd by the Negroe's reftlefs Sabbath's toil !
What loud applaufe a mafter muft deferve,
Not to permit his property $\dagger$ to farve!

* While I fpeak of the cruelty practifed by planters in general, I would not be underftood to fay that there may not be exceptions. + So they term them; but I deny that, in the fight of God, any human being can be the property of another.

But worn by toils he can no more renew,
The helplefs wretch is turn'd adrift by you*!
Ye, who deftroyed, refufing to fuftain
The few unhappy days that yet remain !
To render mifery itfelf more hard,
You term it Favour, Freedom, and Reward :
Can we your generofity deny-
Who grant your victims-liberty to die!

* I have feen feveral of thefe unfortunates expire, literally of hunger who had been picked up on the road by foldiers; but too late for their prefervation. I have known a good many others, who had been abandoned by their owners, fupported for years by the humanity of thofe poor fellows.

One old debilitated negro had refided for feveral years at Storiey hill barracks; and I believe remained there at the time I left the lifand. He was the property of the Honourable (ex officio) Paul Phipps, then Cuflos, or Chief Magiftrate of Kington, one of the reprefentatives for that town in the Houfe of Affembly, Colonel of the regiment of Saint Andrew's Militia, and one of the judges of the Common Pleas of that parilh.

If fuch an act of deliberate cruelty, as the abandoning this helplefs wretch, could be committed by a man who united in his own perfon the confpicuous characters of a judge, a legiffator, a militia commander, and in thefe feveral capacities, as well as in his private profeffion as a merchant, uniformly maintained an unblemilhed reputation; who was, I believe, free from pecuniary embararfinients; and who being hinfelf advanced in years, might have been expected to have felt fome degree of fympathy for the infirmities of are. I think I fhould have been juftified from this fingle inftance, (even if a variety of others had not fallen under sny obfervation) in inferring that this practice of turning out old, or unferviceable flaves to pick, as they emphatically term it, muft be generally prevalent among perfons in more obfcure ftations, of lefs refpectable characters, or in more indigent circumftances.

Soon as the trembling crew are landed bere, Their quiv'ring flefh the burning pincers fear ;
Proudly imprinting your degrading brand
On men, created by your Maker's hand !
A dreadful fpecimen, we may fuppofe, This zoarm reception gives of future woes !

Ere the poor Savage yet can underfand The haughty language of a foreign land ; Ere he conceive your meaning, or your view, The whip directs him what he is to do. No fex, no age, you ever learn'd to fpare, But female limbs indecently lay bare; See the poor mother lay her babe afide *, And ftoop to punifhment fhe muft abide ! Nor midft her pangs, her tears, her horrid cries, Dare the fad hufband turn his pitying eyes.

Amongft yout numbers, do we never meet
Villains fo moft atrocioufly complete,
Who, with curs'd accuracy, count the days,
The hours of labour pregnancy delays;
Who Nature's wond'rous work attempt to fpoil
By ftripes, by terrors, and excefs of toil $\dagger$.
Agualta's

* The negro women who have young children, carry them faftened on their backs, while they are at work in the field.
$\dagger$ To the villainous principle, that it is cheaper to purchafe Guinea negroes ; than, by better ufage, and lighter labour, to ensourage population among thofe of this country, may, in a great

Agualta's * ftream by rains become a flood,
Once by its fide a fearful female flood;
Th' attempt to crofs it was a certain death-
To tarry worre, perhaps-her tyrant's wrath !
Some anxious hours, unzuilling, did fhe ftay;
Then thro' the leff'ning torrent fought her way.
Proftrate fhe lay before her defpot's feet,
Imploring mercy fhe was not to meet !
For ah! the ruffian's heart was hard as fteel!
No pity be had e'er been known to feel !
While the lafh tore her til'd and tortur'd frame,
The pangs of labour prematurely came.
She clafp'd her murder'd infant to her breaft;
Stretch'd her fore limbs, and funk in endlefs reft $\dagger$ !
Your ingenuity we muft confefs,
In finding various methods to diftrefs:
See the wretch faften'd to an emmet's neft,
Whofe ftings in myriads his whole frame moleft:
Or fmear'd with cowheage all his body o'er,
His burning fkin intolerably fore !
Chains, hooks, and horns, of every fize and fhape,
Mark
meafure, be afcribed the neceffity of fo vaft an annual importation from Africa.

* Agualta, a rivulet which takes its rife in the Liguanéa mountains. It is vulgarly known by the name of Wag-water.
$\dagger$ This happened during my refidence bere, within little more than a mile of the fpot where I now fit : viz. on Norbrook mountain; the property of Mr Long, compiler of the Hiftory of Jao maica. Stoney-hill, 16th. October. 1786.

Mark thofe who've once attempted an efcape.
A fifter inle firft us'd, but this improves,
That curs'd invention call'd Barbadoes Gloves粦.
For your own fakes, your malice and your whim
But rarely facrifice a Negroe's limb.
Unlefs a Slave of fedentary trade,
(A lucklefs Taylor well may be afraid);
Where there's no great occafion for a pair,
You may lop off the leg he has to fpare $\dagger$.
Were there a furgeon-and there may be fuch $\ddagger$,
Whofe heart compaffion had the power to touch;
Who dar'd the horrid office to decline,
Your laws condemn him in a heavy fine\|.
If int'reft teaches you their limbs to fpare,
Immediate§ murders muft be fill more rare.
Tho' 'tis this felfifh fentiment alone
That oft deters you to deftroy your own.
But

[^2]But fhould your paffions hurry you away
Another perfon's property to flay,
The guilt's confider'd in a venial light, The proof is diffcult ; the fentence flight*.
Nay, Malice, fafe, may find a thoufand times
When no wowite evidence can prove his crimes.
Since, 'tis eftablifh'd by your partial laws,
No flave bears witnefs in a white man's caufe $\dagger$.
'Tis faid your equitable laws confine
The Negroe's punifhment to thirty-nine $\ddagger$.
A fpecious found !-which never gave redrefs,
Since who the dev'l can prove when you tranfgrefs.
Or curs'd pretences you can find, with eafe,
For nine and thirties num'rous as you pléafe.
A jealous miftrefs finds a ready fham
To give a handfome maid the fugar dram $\|$;
Clofely

[^3]With her fair hands prepares the naufeous draught, And pours the fcalding mixture down her throat ; Clofely confin'd for mad'ning nights and days, Her burning thirft no liquid drop allays. Nay, well I know a proud revengeful dame, Who gave a dofe too loathfome here to name *. It muft be own'd you all do wond'rous well, Yet fill in torturing the fair excel. What ftrange inventions has their genius found, (Impell'd by Jealoufy) to plague and wound !
And in thofe modes we fhould the leaft fuppofe That female delicacy would have chofe.

Bad is at beft the Slave's moft eafy flate!
Yet fome are deftin'd to a harder fate. Villains there are, who, doubly bent on gain, Moft nicely calculate the toil and pain; Who fix the time (Oh! Heav'n! why fleepsthy wrath!')
They may, with profit, work their gangs to death. " Whether fhall we," thofe precious fcoundrels fay,
" Grafp Fortune quickly, or make long delay?
" A hundred flaves we have no fund to buy;
" The ftrength of balf tbat number let us try,
" With mod'rate toil, from practice it appears
"Thefe flaves might live, perhaps, a dozen years;

[^4]"To us, you know, the matter will be even,
"If we can make as much of them in feven*."
The price of property they only weigh, Regardlefs, elfe, what lives they take away!

In mild Britannia many of you dwell, Where tortur'd Slavery ne'er is heard to yell.
You fly wherever Luxury invites,
And Diffipation crowns your days and nights;
The dire reflection never meets your view, What pangs, what bloodfhed, buy thofe joys for you!
Your injur'd flaves, perhaps, you never fare $\dagger$;
And doubt the picture I fo truly draw.
Such would not willingly, I hope, impofe
The laft extremity of human woes.
But, if from Freedom's land you never ftray'd, By falfe defcriptions you may be betray'd.
Self-interefted men have met your ear;
I, roithout int'reft $t$, will be more fincere !
Wretches by want expell'd from foreign climes $\|$;
Efcap'd from debts, or juftice due their crimes;
I
The

* This diabolical practice is called driving a gang. I have repeatedly heard calculations made on this fubject, with all the coolnefs and accuracy of an ingkeeper eftimating the probable expenditure of his poft-horfes.
+ Nany proprictors of eftates in this country have never been in the ifland.
$\ddagger$ At leaft, no other than the intereft of humanity.
|| The life of a book-keeper is, in general, fuch a complication of drudgery and difeafe, pride and poverty, defpotifm and fer-

The bafe, the ignorant, the ruffian fteer,
And find a defperate afylum bere.
Abject and fervile tho' themfelves they be
To thofe above them but in one degree ;
O'er the fubordinate, fad, fable crew
They have as abfolute controul as you.
Men uninform'd, uncultivated, rude,
Whofe boift'rous paffions ne'er have been fubdu'd;
Whofe tempers, never naturally mild,
Care and misfortune render fill more wild;
Their furious hearts a fhort relief procure,
To wreak on others more than they endure;
By fuch caprice are Negroes doom'd to bleed,
The Slaves of Slavery—They are low indeed!
He who has made an independence bere,
At home in fplendor hurries to appear;
London, or Bath, with lying fame refounds,
" A frefh Creole!-worth Fifty Thoufand Pounds!"

$$
\mathrm{C}_{\mathrm{ij}}
$$

Tho'
vility, that no man of birth, education, fpirit, or fenfibility would, if previoufly acquainted with its nature, ever engage in it. That there are, however, among this clafs of men fome unfortunate people of the above defcription, is certain; (though, as matters are now conducted, they could not well be poffefled of lefs effential qualifications:) But a far greater proportion of them are low and illiterate, (for it is far from requifite that a book-keeper fhould be able to read) many of them are defperadoes, fraudulent bankrupts, jail-birds, deferters from the troops, run-away feamen, and other vagabonds of all countries and denominations. Several of them inlifed in the igth reginient, and rejoiced greatly at their change of fituation.

Tho' ten he knows the limit of his ftore, He muft keep up the figure firt he wore. Thoughtlefs, he riots in the gay career; And finds himfelf half ruin'd in the year.
Duns grow importunate-and friends but cool;
Back to Jamaica comes the bankrupt fool.
Firf goes the Pen*; the Polink $\dagger$; worfe and worfe;
At laft the Sugar-work is put to nurfe.
He frives with Jews and Marflalls long-in vain-
Once thus involv'd, he ne'er gets clear again.
Worfe ev'ry year his fituation grows,
'Till in a prifon he concludes his woes;
Unlefs, perhaps, a feat at Council-board
A fure protection flould for life afford;
Or in the Lower Houfe enacting laws-
The laws eluding fafter than he draws.
But while he parries off from year to year,
The Negroes' fuff'rings are indeed fevere !
For their vain lord the moft fupplies to raife,
'Ill fed; hard work'd; they know no refting days $\ddagger$ !
Perhaps
\% The villa.
$\ddagger$ A mountain farm for raifing provifions and flock.
$\ddagger$ Indeed, none of them do; but the Sunday, which they ought
to be allowed to wort for themfelves, is generally ftyled a refting
day. When the mafter is hard puthed, I believe there may be
found infances of the negroes being cheated out of a great part
even of this their own day.

Perhaps to greedy jobbers lent on hire *,
Who from excefs of toil their gain require ;
Who have no int'reft in them to preferve;
And if they labour, care not how they ftarve.
Or feiz'd by marfhalls, and to market brought ;
By various mafters families are bought.
Amidft their unregarded fighs and tears,
The wife and hufband fall to diff'rent fhares;
Their clinging offspring from their arms are tore,
And hurried from them, ne'er to meet them more!
I knew a foetus, in mere wanton play,
Sold from the mother in whofe womb it lay,
Unhappy mother! doom'd for months to bear The lucklefs burden, thou art not to rear†!

What

[^5]What dreadful partings, for Revenge's fake,
Do furious females in a moinent make!
Their fav'rite maids, with whom from youth they grew;
As fine their fhape; and fcarce lefs fair their hue*;
For fome flight error; fome unlucky chance;
A tea-cup broken; or a lover's glance;
Feel all the fury of their quenchlefs flame;
And meet the punifhments of pain and flame.
The parent's, fifter's, ev'ry tender tie-
All are diffolv'd-and round the ifle they fly!
Accurfed fate! where Nature, and where Love,
Rude violations muft for ever prove!
You, brutal ravifhers! pretend in vain
That Afric's children feel no jealous pain.
Untaught Europeans, with illib'ral pride,
Look with contempt on all the world befide;
And vainly think no virtue ever grew,
No paffion glow'd beneath a fable hue.
Beings you deem them of inferior kind $\dagger$;
Denied a human, or a thinking mind.
Happy for Negroes were this doctrine true:
Were feelings loft to them-or giv'n to you!

* The ladies are generally attended by girls of colour, who, frequently, are their own near relations; in the third or fourth generation, many of them are almoft as fair as Europeans.
+ I have often heard planters, talking of their negroes, very gravely fyle them their Cattle.

But Love and Paffion ne'er had more controul, Than o'er the African's hot, haughty foul. Oft, 'mongft your flaves, a once proud chief we find, Of dauntlefs courage, and exalted mind;
His body cover'd o'er with many a fcar, Proofs of his prowefs in the field of war; More keen his mental than corporeal pains, While his fierce Jpirit feels your lafh and chains. In vain the noble pride, which glory gave, You would fubdue, and "break the fubborn flave." Refolv'd to perifh by a heroe's hand, He feeks in fuicide his native land*.

Or, fhould he take a bolder, jufter courfe, And try to vindicate his rights by force; Thro' coward numbers you the hero take, And hell's own torments wait him at the ftake.
There are, of gentler race and low degree,
Who were not ever nominally free.
But while they loiter'd on their native foil, Slight was the nature of th' exacted toil.
Taught but, perhaps, the favage chafe to roufe ;
Or guard the fcanty flocks, or goats to broufe.
Perhaps,

[^6]Perhaps, the only tafk they ever knew;
To fow the feeds that half fpontaneous grew;
No complicated agriculture there;
No modes of luxury made toil fevere.
No bloody fields their peaceful nature fougit ;
But am'rous combats all they ever fought.
Thus, flaves, perhaps, in nothing but the name,
They never felt it- till Europeans came-
In happy indolence life flipp’d away,
And eafe and fun-fhine blefs'd them every day *:
But when the Chriftians came, in evil hour,
They found the rigour of a tyrant's power ;
Some dragg'd by force, and fome by fraud beguild $\dagger$,
The defpot reigns—rich Monarch of a Wild!
In dumb defpair thefe helplefs wretches pine,
Yet are their feelings exquifitely fine $\ddagger$ !
Think you the filent flave beholds, unimov' $d$,
The rape committed on his beft-belov'd?
With

* The two blefings they feem moft to relifh.-To fleep in the fun, they confider as one of the higheft luxuries. This fate of eafe and tranquillity appeared, from their artlefs accounts, to have been the original lot of moft of the Guinea negroes I have interrogated on the fubject.
$\dagger$ This alfo is from the information I have often received from African flaves.
$\ddagger$ If I have not had proofs fufficient to warrant this affertion; they have at leaft been fuch as to carry to my own mind the fulleft conviction of its truth,


## ( 25 )

With keeneft pangs his am'rous heart is wrung, Rage fires his foul, tho' fear reftrains his tongue.

Oh! friendlefs race! for whom I, only, figh *; Who fcarce bave ever met a pitying eye ! Oh ! had I power to melt, by tender ftrains, Your lawlefs lords to mollify your pains !
Could I excite one fympathetic tear, To make long-lof Humanity appear :
Could I but teach them-what they never knew, The facred rights which Nature gave to you!
But had I mufic-magic in my ftrain, Mufic or magic had been giv'n in vain!

Here the rough planter looks profoundly wife ;
" A pretty fellow this, indeed !" he cries.
"What would your conduct be, I'd gladly know,
"Sbould Cbance on you fome bundred flaves beffow:
"Pray would you fet the worthlefs rafcals free?
"Or would you keep them—jufl the fame as we $\dagger$ ? ?"
How he would act, till tried, no man can fay, But may temptation fill be kept away !

> D

1 am

[^7]I am an erring man, as well as you,
And might by Av'rice be corrupted too;
But, be my conduct whatfo'er it might,
That ne'er cóuld alter either Wrong or Right.
Altho' no wealth fhould e'er be deftin'd mine ;
Nay, were I doom'd in poverty to pine,
Still with contempt I'd inwardly behold
The greedy tribe whofe guilt had purchas'd gold ;
Content that Fortune may be ftill denied,
If by the pangs of Innocence fupplied?
For me be never ftruggling victim tore
From friends, from freedom, and his native fhore !
Give me no fields where fruits luxuriant wave, Whofe culture ever curs'd a fingle flave ! To me how bitter were the fweeteft food, Whofe feed was nourih'd by one wretch's blood !
To me no beauties e'er could grace the foil, That ow'd its tillage to reluctant toil!
NorFlattry's voice, nor Mufic's notesI'dhear, [ear!
Still whips would wound, and flurieks would pierce mine
And, tho' I own'd whate'er was rich or rare,
I'd dream of chains, of exile, and defpair!
Then take, ye tyrants, all that gold can grant !
Be mine the heartfelt rectitude you want*!

* This is not addreffed to planters in general (among whom there are undoubtedly many men of integrity); but the fpeculators in human blood only.

Do your fair fields with pipe or fong refound?
No! chains and fcourges echo all around!
Thro' verdant meads yon limpid waters flow,
But fcarce a freeman there is feen to go !
Not gay to me yon gaudy mountain's fide,
There fickly Slavery " work'd and wept," and died !
Can I behold yoni manfion with a fmile ?
Unwilling labour rear'd the fplendid pile!
Can all Lucinda's outward charms infpire
A tender feeling, or a foft defire?
When ev'ry gem the cruel creature wears, Was bought by ftreams of blood, and floods of tears.

If (Heaven avert it!) flaves e'er work'd for me,
Eafy, I tbink, their daily tafks fhould be.
With lodging, raiment, and nutritious food,
I'd make their lives as happy as I cou'd.
Again, perhaps, another fage will fay,
"This is a traitor, webo receives our pay!
" He, tho' by duty bound to guard our laws,
" Dares to efpoufe the flave's rebellious caufe!
"Should factious Negroes rife againft their lord,
"Durft he refufe to draw his venal fword?
"Is he not then at leaft as bad as we,
"Who helps to bind the men he wifhes free?"
The heavy charge I muft confefs too true;
I am accomplice in the guilt with you!

> D ij

But

But difant be the day my weapon draws
Againt whoever fights in Freedom's caufe!
If Britain bid, obey her fervants muff ;
Yet muft I figh-if Britain be unjuft !
If by our hands their harmlefs blood be fpilt,
With Britain's lawgivers remains the guilt !
Statefmen and Patriots ! does it well agree
With you-the guardians of the brave and free!
For the emolument of fordid trade,
To give fuch villanies a legal aid*?
Be not your pity to one race confin'd;
But rife the benefactors of mankind!
Let Afric's children tread their native fhore ;
And British Ruffians ravage them no more ?
The galling chains of Servitude remove,
And leave them all to Liberty and Love $\dagger$ !


STANZAS

* Suppofing (Hhich yet remains to be proved) that the African Slave-Trade is actually of commercial advantage to Great Britain.
$\dagger$ If the reader imagine I here recommend the romantic, and as yet impracticable, fcheme of emancipating the Negroes in the Weft-Indies; he greatly mifunderftands me. My wifhes (however obfcurely they may be expreffed), though when firf formed, not encouraged by the flighteft or molt diftant hopes of gratification; did then, as now, perfectly coincide with what 1 conceive to be the laudable views of the focieties fince initituted, for the abolition of the trade to Africa for flaves; the meliorating the condition of thofe already in the inlands; and, perhaps, in time, the gradual eftablifhment of their freedom.


## S T A N Z A S ON THE

Execution of a NEGRO, at Spanijb-toron, Famaica, Auguft 1785 ${ }^{\text {* }}$.
$W_{\text {hen }}$ Brutus fruck the fatal fteel
Through the Imperial Cæfar's breaft,
The glorious deed, the patriot's zeal,
Stood thro' the fubject world confefs'd.
Nor yet has time deftroy'd the name, Impartial ages love to praiie ;
In ftory brightly fhines his fame, Immortal as the poet's lays.
Yet Brutus fabb'd a gen'rous heart, In whofe affections faft he grew;
To whom he ow'd a filial part, It was a parent Brutus flew.
He never felt the galling chain, The lafh that lacerates the flave;
But favours (all conferr'd in vain) Were the fole fetters Cæfar gave!

But

* This unhappy man had run off the eftate to which he belonged. Having been fome time afterwards met by one of the book-keepers, who attempted to feize him, a ftruggle enfued, in which the white man was killed.

But fee! poor Azubal in torments dies!
At which my foul in agonies recoils !
See how he writhes! Ah hear his horrid cries !
Whilft with flow cruelty the furnace broils !
Say, what was Azubal's atrocious crime,
Compar'd to Brutus' celebrated deed ?
(Candour regards no colour and no clime;
And Freedom fmiles as oft as tyrant's bleed!)

No friendly bofom did he wound ;
No acts of kindnefs had he known ;
Compell'd to till a foreign ground,
For ever exil'd from his own !
Still agonifing mem'ry drew
The fweets that blef'd his Afric's fhore ;
The days of flumb'ring eafe he knew ;
The friends he muft behold no more!
Indignant fill recalls the day
European ruffians firft drew near ;
When, vainly ftruggling, forc'd away-
From all that ever could be dear !
Beneath reluctant labour faint,
Say what reward awaits his pains?
The whip's the folace of his plaint ;
And reft is granted but in chains :

## ( $3^{r}$ )

ideal lofs of Liberty infpir'd
The haughty Roman to deftroy his friend;
But keener injuries the Negro fir'd
To end a tyrant, and to kill a fiend.
Brutus fill feems a parricide to me,
And Reafon gives reluctantly applaufe;
But to poor Azubal my praife is free,
Who boldly perifh'd in a jufter caufe*.

* The name of $A z u b a l$ is fictitious; I wifh I could add alfo that the circumfances are imaginary. But thefe verfes were actually written a few days after the execution of a Negro, who was roafied to death at a flow fire on the race-courfe near Spanilhtown, for the crime before mentioned. Of the many ftrong arguments which have been urged in favour of the abolition of the Slave-Trade, one of the moft obvious and incontrovertible, is furely this: That the conifant importation of favage and untamed fpirits into the iflands, not only fubjects the white inhabitants to frequent alarm, danger, and fometimes death itfelf (to which they are feldom or never expofed from the Creole Negroes) ; but alfo affords the plea of neceffity to punifhments the moft fhocking to humanity, and highly difgraceful to the colonies of a civilized nation.

$$
\npreceq U S T P U B L I S H E D
$$

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The

SON OF FINGAL.

TRANSLATED
By JAMES MACPHERSON, Eseurë̈。

Though the Works of this celebrated Bard, have long fince been tranflated into perhaps every language in Europe, he has hitherto been, in fome degree, a ftranger in this country. The high price of the book placed it beyond the purchafe of the moft numerous clafs of readers. The prefent octavo edition, though at near half the former price, contains fome important articles omitted in the late edition, and is, in point of elegance, at leaft not inferior to any publifhed in London. The publifher can now congratu: late his countrymen on having rendered univerfally acceffible, a Poet long diftinguifhed for clafical entertainment and philofophical inftruction.


[^0]:    * I would here be underfood to allude to the peafantry of Eng* land.

[^1]:    * I muft here remind the reader that the fines are addreffed to ali concerned in the Slave-Trade; but the planters, for whofe ufe the negrues are ultimately intended, may be confidered as the original infligators of the traffic.
    + Of the great number of new negroes I have feen, a very confiderable proportion appeared to me to be under 14 years of age。

[^2]:    * Slips of wood are placed between every two fingers, and the whole fcrewed or wedged clofe together, fo as to give moft exquifite torture. I have known this infernal machine kept on houfe flaves for many days together.
    + The reafon affigned to a gentleman of my acquaintance, by his overfeer, for cutting off the leg of one of his negroes in his abfence; was, that the fellow having run off, he thought this the moft effectual method of preventing his trying it a fecond time ; adding, that as he was a taylor, the property was not a bit lefs vao luable.
    $\ddagger$ I mean, even in the Weft-Indies.
    || The penalty, I think, is gol. currency.
    § Inimediate; in contradifinction to the flow murder of toil and torment.

[^3]:    * Generally payment of the price of the negro to his owner. It is then, it may be remarked, as expenfive to kill another man's flave as your own. But this does not follow ; in the former cafe, the lofs is certain; in the latter, the fact mult be proved (which is often impoffible) before the damages can be incurred.
    + Not only flaves, but free negroes, and people of colour, are excluded. They are, however, admitted as evidences arain/t each other.
    $\ddagger$ As there is feldom more than one white man in the field the futility of this law is clear. (Original note, I786.) For the fame reafon it is obvious, that the late Act of Affembly of Jamaica, in favour of flaves, muft be ineffectual. (Feb. 1792.)
    || An equal mixture of rum and falt.

[^4]:    * A lady of my acquaintance caufed a flave, in prefence of her family and ftrangers, to fwallow a glafs of rum mixed with human excrement.

[^5]:    * Bad as the fituation of flaves is in general, it will eafly be credited that thofe on bankrupt eftates (of which God knows, there is no fearcity) are more peculiarly wretched. But the mof fuper-eminently miferable of the human race are, undoubtedly, the negroes belonging to jobbing gangs. Should the perfon who hires them, difpofe of a negro; fhould he floot him through the head, or ftab him to the heart ; he would, I dare fay, be obliged to pay the price of him to his owner. But it does not appear that he ís liable to replace thofe who may be loft by accidental, or natural deaths-and no death, furely, is fo perfectly natural-none, I will aver, fo frequent, in jobbing gangs, as from the effects of hunger, want of accommodation, violent blows, exceffive labour, fevere flogging, and every other poffible fecies of cruelty and bad treatment.
    + The bargain was fruck in hearing of the unfortunate mo. ther.

[^6]:    * This is more particularly the cafe with the high fpirited, (or, as the planters call them, the fully, contumacious) Coromantees. I never converfed with any African negro, who did not feem to confider death as a certain paffiport to Guinea.

[^7]:    * Thank Heaven! this is no longer the cafe! I have now the pleafure to fee thoufands of my fellow Britons efpoufe the caufe of this injured race of men, who appeared to me, at the time the above lines were written, to be for ever abandoned by the reft of the human fpecies.
    + I have frequently had thefe, and the like knock me duwn arguments dáhed into my teeth.

